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Miao AE5

[For information pertaining to the household size, distribution, and tribal subdivisions of the Miao, see 2: Wiens AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 282-284, 286-287. For a cultural summary of the Miao, see ibid., category 116, Pp. 51, 318, --Analyst]

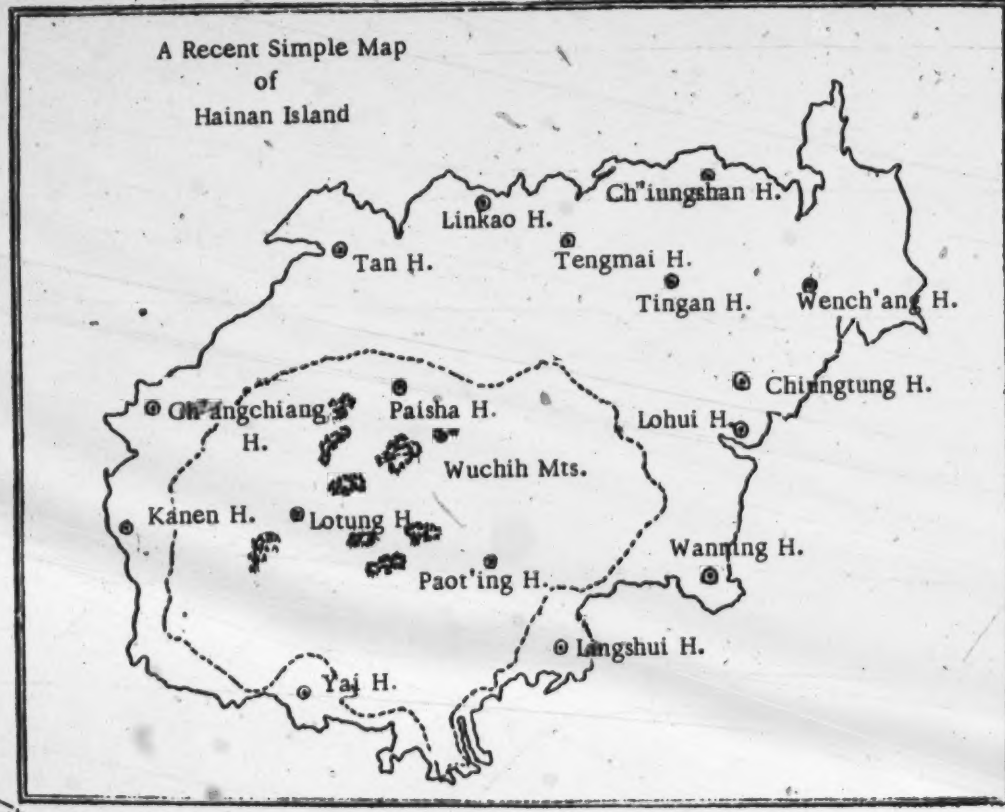
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Miao AE5

/For a short description of the relationship of the Miao and the Lolo (Yi),
and the effects of Communist rule on this relationship, see 1: Stanford
University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 83-84/

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- 162 The space encircled by the broken line is the Li area where both the
 53 Li and the Miao are intermingled, although the Miao people live in
 361 the more remote area high in the mountains. The actual distribution
 of the Miao population in the three hsien (Pai-sha, Lo-tung, and
 Pao-t'ing) has not yet been investigated in detail, but its general
 distribution can be roughly estimated.

PREFACE

NOT all of the native inhabitants of China are Chinese. China, like other countries, has her minorities. Some of them are border folk, marginal members of ethnic groups which have their main centers of population elsewhere, such as the Mongols, the Tatars, the Lo-lo, and other Tibetan frontier people, and the Thai. Others are just as Chinese as the Chinese themselves in geography and in length of tenure. These are peoples who speak non-Chinese languages, live in separate villages, and whose customs differ perceptibly from those of the Chinese in the surrounding countryside. They are the survivors from the earlier periods of Chinese history, when the Chinese proper were only one of many peoples in what we now call China, destined to spread out from valley to valley, and along the coast, absorbing their neighbors and painting all with their linguistic and cultural brush.

Several millions of these other peoples still live in the southern provinces of China. They are the Tai, the Lo-lo, and the Miao. Like the Chinese peasants of southern China, all of these people are Iron-Age agriculturalists, growing rice and other grains, keeping a few pigs and cattle, living in villages of a few hundred persons, and trading their surplus agricultural products and handicraft products in the market towns for cutting tools and other manufactured objects. The general economic adjustment to the environment is the same for all of these peoples. The differences consist chiefly of language and minor social usages. A difference of another order, however, sharply divides the dominant from the minor peoples—the *hsien*¹ towns and the provincial cities are all chiefly inhabited and run by Chinese. Thus the Miao, Lo-lo, and Tai have no class of artisans and traders, no urban populations; they are practically all peasants. Being dependent on the Chinese for their manufactured products, their material culture shows few visible differences from the Chinese. A western traveler might easily

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¹ A *hsien* is a district—a subdivision of a province,

● 563 go through one of their villages while the women were away in the fields without knowing that he had seen non-Chinese people; for their faces look no different, and the costumes of the men are the same, while the houses, though perhaps poorer, do not deviate from ordinary rural Chinese architectural standards except for the layout of the village. Unless he were a very persistent and hardy traveler, however, the chances that he would reach such a village are remote, for these people inhabit refuge areas, and their homes are tucked away in the higher valleys and on the less fertile mountain slopes. Along the larger rivers, the main highroads of China, the traveler would see only Chinese.

The one province of China which is least fertile, least productive, and least influenced by the far-reaching arm of Western culture is Kweichow. It is not surprising, therefore, that Kweichow contains a larger proportion of non-Chinese "aborigines" than the other provinces of southern China. With more aborigines and fewer Chinese, and with less immediate Chinese influence than elsewhere, Kweichow is the ideal place in which to study the non-Chinese—in this case the Miao. That is why, in 1940, Miss Portia Mickey went there.

114 Before she undertook to study the daily life
121 of a Miao village, Miss Mickey had had some ten years of experience in China, during which time she acquired a knowledge of Chinese. Aside from her linguistic qualification, she is a natural field ethnographer. Quiet and unobtrusive, she masks with her mild personality keen powers of observation, discrimination, and persistence. To go alone into the most backward part of the most backward province of China in war time, to live there under local conditions of nutrition and sanitation, and at the same time to keep detailed records of everything that went on, was a feat of no little courage and endurance for a small woman no longer young, on her first anthropological expedition.

roughly comparable to our county.

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173 feudal lords; land was given to garrisons and soldier villages which they were to keep "from generation to generation."

The entire tale is too long to tell here, but one small portion may be of interest.^{2a} During the first period of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140-135 B.C.) an envoy was sent to Nan-yüeh, in the region occupied by present-day Kwangsi and Kwangtung. During his visit he was offered a relish of betel pepper from Shu, an ancient state with its capital at Ch'engt'u. When he inquired whence this relish came, he was told that it was brought from Tsang-ko in the northwest by a river which has its source in the mountains northwest of Ting-fan-hsien in Kweichow. Upon his return to Ch'ang-an (Si-an) he inquired further concerning this relish and was told that it was a product peculiar to Shu, from which it had been taken in private trade to Yeh-lang, a state in what is now the western part of Kweichow and Kwangsi. It occurred to the envoy that by this trade route a way might be afforded for an army recruited in Yeh-lang to proceed against wealthy Nan-yüeh. Accordingly, he memorialized the throne and the project of constructing a road to this river was started; but the road was never finished because the soldiers engaged upon it suffered too much from weariness, hunger, and the "dampness of the weather," and the expense of keeping native peoples from revolt was too great.

The tradition and folklore of those peoples who have no written language, as well as Chinese historical writings, support the contention of all Kweichow people that their ancestors were immigrants from other provinces. Some came from the region between the lakes of Tung-t'ing in Hunan and Po-ying in Kiangsi, some across the borders from Kwangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan. Among them were forced or voluntary immigrants who came as families or clans, garrison soldiers without families who married women from non-Chinese groups, and in more recent years farmers, business and professional men, and officials.

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• 563 Division of Peoples and Their Location.
S. R. Clarke³ divides the people of the province

^{2a} Cheng Teh-k'un, 1945.

³ Clarke, 1911.

563 into six groups: First, two groups of Chinese — the Lao Han-jen ("Old Chinese"), who came as garrison soldiers from the ninth to the twelfth century and whose descendants through marriage with non-Chinese women are often taken at first to be tribes people, and the K'e-chia ("Guest people"). Some of the first speak an old Chinese dialect and their women wear most picturesque costumes. The headdress of the women in one group in An-shun Hsien gives them the name of Feng-t'ou jen (Phoenix-headed people). The K'e-chia first came from Kiangsi, not always willingly; later many came from Hunan and Szechuan. Second, the non-Chinese Kei-lao, Miao-chia, Chung-chia, and I-chia. Other western writers generally classify them by languages.

Chinese gazetteers give altogether just one hundred names for these peoples and suggest various methods by which they may be classified. In the notes to his translation of the Miao-Man section of the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh⁴ Dr. Lin Yüeh-hwa places them in seven groups: the Miao proper, the Chung-chia, the Nung-chia, the Ch'i-lao, the Lo-lo, the Yao, and the P'o. The Research Bureau of the Sociology Department of Ta Hsia University in Kweiyang, of which Dr. Wu Tzu-lin was head, classified them as Lo-lo (more politely known as I-pien), Kei-lao, a Tai group, and Miao.

The I-pien are found in the extreme north-western part of the province and are divided into T'u-mu or T'u-ssu, descendants of feudal lords, Hei-l, freemen and landowners, and Pai-l, serfs or slaves. Many of the Hei-l have in recent years taken the title and authority of T'u-ssu, while the latter have been rapidly disappearing. The Kei-lao, whose name is also pronounced Ch'i-lao, are found in fairly large numbers in P'u-ting, An-lung, and Lu-shan hsien. There are two explanations of the name Lo-lo. Some say it comes from the spirit basket (*lo lo*) hung up in the most sacred corner of the house. If this is so, their resentment against the name is understandable as an insult to their religion. The Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh⁵ says that at the close of the Sui and the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty [66] the capable leaders among the Man people

were advanced to the status of Kuei-chu. The Lo-tien people east of Kweiyang, then called the Kuei-chu of the Lo family by the abbreviated title of Lo-kuei, which was finally corrupted to Lo-lo. This same source gives the origin of the Ch'i-lao or Kei-lao as Szechuan, from whence they were spread over the provinces of Kweichow and Kwangtung. In this source and by themselves the Kei-lao are divided into ten groups with such interesting names as Ch'ing (Blue), Hung (Red), Yeh-t'ou (Head-adorning), Pi-p'ao (long robe), Ch'ien-t'ou (Head-shaving), Ta-ya (Teeth-knocking), Kuo-ch'uan (Pot-ring), and Ta-t'ieh (Iron-working).

The Tai group includes the Chung-chia, Tung-chia, Shui-chia, and T'ung-chia. Of these, the Chung-chia in the central and southern sections of the province and the Tung-chia in the southeastern are most numerous and widely distributed, while the Shui-chia in the four southern hsien of Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, and Tu-chiang and the T'ung-chia in Lo-ch'ang and San-chiang Hsien are few. The origin of the name, Chung-chia, is given in the An-shun Fu-chih as follows: originally the words were written 重甲, meaning "heavy armor," and refer to the heavy infantry of invading armies. There are references to immigrating clans by the name of Tung and T'ung and of garrison soldiers who took the name of their commander, Chung. These people all speak Tai dialects and probably came from Szechuan, the ancestral home of the Tai, or from Kwangsi. The Shui-chia are fairly recent arrivals from Kwangsi.

For the Miao people there are as many as eighty or ninety different names. At Ta Hsia University, following the Ch'ien-nan Chih-fang Chi-lüeh,⁶ they are classified as Hua (Flowery), Hei (Black), Ch'ing (Blue), Pai (White), and Hung (Red) Miao, according to the predominant color of the tribal dress. Of these the Hua Miao in the west and northwest and the Hei Miao in the southeast are most numerous and widespread, while the Ch'ing Miao and Pai Miao in the central and the Hung Miao in the northeastern parts of the province are much less numerous and

more restricted in distribution. All other names apply to sub-groups. 563

These often seem to be rather in the nature of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or Ping-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians. 101

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played and still do play various roles in China. From very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger⁷ quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco 301 436

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family.

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Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome.

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The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than on-lookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice.

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An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother.

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During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five

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361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and on the valley floor below. In fact, in the whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-sai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and one of the Wang (王) family. They had intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. 342 Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one. 342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

also be used for cutting the fibers from hemp stalks. Another small paring knife was used to separate the inner fiber from the thin bark.

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For the hulling of grain (fig. 16, b) the following implement was used: A log shaped to a plank at one end and fitted with a pestle at the other lay between two posts set in the ground and was held straight by a log set in crosswise in front of them. There was a hole under the plank and one under the pestle. The grain was poured into the hole under the pestle. The operator stood with one foot on the ground and the other on the plank. As she pushed it up and down she swept the grain back into the hole with a small bamboo broom on a long handle. The chaff was sold in market.

For the cleaning of grain there was a wooden thresher set up on four legs, to a height of four and a half feet over all. Its essential elements were a hopper with two straight and two shorter, sloping sides, into which grain was poured from the top (fig. 16, c); a chute through which grain fell into a basket or onto a mat on the ground; another chute through which some grain mixed with chaff fell onto the ground; and a wheel with four blades, turned by a handle which stuck out as an extension of the axle. The end of the thresher opposite the wheel was open and chaff flew out through this. Until they began to turn the wheel, the hopper was kept closed by a partition controlled by a handle set in the side of the machine. All parts of this machine were of wood.

The iron parts of all implements were bought in market by the villagers, who dealt with certain Chinese workers in iron, or had them made by one of two blacksmiths in the *hsien* city. Carrying poles, yokes, and the wooden parts were also bought in market, as they were made by craftsmen skilled in their manufacture or of wood which the villagers did not have. But, as they had their own trees and bamboo, some wooden implements, wooden parts of tools, and all articles of bamboo except the small, covered basket carried on long trips were made in the village, either by the householder himself or by someone more skilled in the making of certain things. Thus, while I was there our family called in a Miao from another village to make

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water casks and buckets for carrying or raising water, a man from the same village to make bamboo scoops and baskets, and a Chinese carpenter to make two large, ratched water wheels for a mill. The old man who moved away from the village was a head carpenter, capable of directing the work of making and setting up the framework of a house, and also skilled in working with bamboo. One of his sons had this ability.

Other bamboo baskets were used to carry small pigs to market, to bring in green stuff from the garden, to carry in the heads of wheat, and for the storage of grain.

Animals and Birds. In the village of Yangchia-sai there were just one female pony and her colt, which belonged to the wealthiest family and were used for the transportation of grain to market a few times a year. To service this mare a pony was brought in from outside. There were water buffalo and "yellow cows" used for plowing and harrowing, enough for the needs of all households in each family group. The milk was not drunk by the people. Dogs were used for guarding and as scavengers. There were a number of cats. Every household had chickens and most of them a pig. There were also several caged pheasants and two households had pigeons. Some of the young men had caged thrushes which they brought out in the spring to sing against one another (fig. 17, e). They would also whistle to them to make them sing. A number of these were taken in their cages to the spring bullfight near Yang-niu-ts'un.

Chickens, dogs, and cats went where they wished, except into the grain on the mats, but stables or pens were provided for the other animals. Ducks and geese were driven to the pond in the morning, watched, and brought in again at night. Pigeons roosted under the eaves. Pheasants were kept in large wooden cages in the doorway.

Not every household had cows and water buffalo, but closely related households worked first one and then another field belonging to the group, so that there were enough draft animals for all. The most well-to-do household had four water buffalo and two cows.

Division of Labor. It will be seen from the discussion of Agriculture, that the lion's share of the work fell to the women. Only

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god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 621 563

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361 These villages are sometimes surrounded by a wall, and sometimes by a stockade of plaited bamboos, but most of them have no sort of protection. On market-days, which are held generally once in six days, the market-places are crowded by the men and women of different tribes, which, by reason of the varied and picturesque costumes of the women, present an animated and interesting spectacle. These markets or fairs are mostly held in the towns and villages, but some of them are held in out-of-the-way places where no houses are to be seen. Here the people sell their live-stock and farm produce, and buy such necessities as they cannot produce or make for themselves. At some of the markets we have visited, the tribes-people outnumber the Chinese by ten to one, but in some places it is the other way about.

• 563 The non-Chinese of Kweichow are the *Lao* or *Keh-lao*, the *Miao-chia*, the *Chung-chia*, and the *I-chia*. And here let us explain for the reader who does not understand Chinese, that the word *chia*, so often occurring in the names of various tribes, means "family" or "tribe."

563 Thus *Miao-chia* means the "Miao tribe" or 101 "tribes." We have heard people speak, and have met writers, who mention the Miao as *Miao tsi*. That is a Chinese contemptuous way

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of speaking of them. People, unless they wish ⁵⁶³ to be rude, should speak and write of them as ¹⁰¹ *Miao*, or *Miao-chia*.

Of the four races mentioned above, the *Miao*-⁵⁶³ *chia* and *Chung-chia* are numerous and important, the *I-chia* not so numerous but still important. Later on these will be dealt with at greater length. The *Keh-lao*, however, are now nearly extinct; many of them have married into *Chung-chia* and Old Chinese families. Some writers have spoken of them as extinct. As far as we know, there are now only several hamlets of them in the Anshun prefecture, which altogether do not number more than two or three hundred families.

These people claim, and rightly, we believe, to be the real aborigines of that region. In some parts of the province the *Miao* claim to be the aborigines, but where the *Miao* and *Keh-lao* occupy the same district, the *Miao* allow that the *Keh-lao* were there before themselves. From the similarity of names, we might suppose that these *Lao* or *Keh-lao* are the same as a branch of the *Lao* or *Laos* people of northern Siam, southern Yunnan, and other regions. This, however, we think is not so, as we have good reason to conclude that the *Lao* or *Laos* people of northern Siam, and elsewhere, are the

563 same or closely related to the Chung-chia of Kweichow.

The language of the Keh-lao is quite different from every other spoken in the province, although like all the languages spoken in Kweichow it is syllabic and, we think, tonic. Most of them can also speak Chinese. The men dress as Chinese and wear the queue, but the women wear a costume peculiar to themselves, and have their hair done up in a knob at the top of their head, much like the style of a Taoist priest. Like all the other non-Chinese races the women do not bind their feet. In appearance they are, we think, most like the Miao.

All the Keh-lao we know or have heard of are in Anshun prefecture. Mr. and Mrs. Adam have visited some of them and have been kindly welcomed by them. About fifteen miles from Anshunfu, on the way to Ten-ten, an out-station among the Miao, is a Keh-lao hamlet where Mr. and Mrs. Adam always rest and have a meal, as there are no inns on the way to Ten-ten. The same family always entertains them, furnishing hot water for them, food for their coolies, and grass for their ponies. On the first occasion the old lady, when offered money for her hospitality, was quite offended, and said, "Ah well! don't come back again." However,

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the difficulty was got over by always taking a present for the hostess or her grand-daughter. We have been in that hamlet, and if we had not been told they were Keh-lao, should certainly have thought they were Miao.

The Keh-lao, like all the inhabitants of Kweichow, Chinese and non-Chinese, are great believers in demons and are very superstitious, but thus far we have had no opportunity of learning more of their religious notions. They are also known under the following names: *Hua*¹ Keh-lao, from the various colours in the dress of the women; *Ya-ya*² Keh-lao, from the custom of breaking a front tooth of a bride before she goes to her husband's home. They are also called the *Hung*³ Keh-lao, that is the Red Keh-lao. Possibly Keh-lao means aboriginal, but this is only a guess. The Chinese have other names for them, but as these are the reverse of complimentary, out of respect for an ancient and vanishing people we shall not in these pages hand those names down to posterity.

¹ Hua = parti-coloured.

² Ya = tooth.

³ Hung = red.

774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like
 778 that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it
 is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet,
 hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries.
 A plain is male and female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries,
 veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents.
 Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can
 speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is
 a living being that can speak. He has a definite character
 and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is
 a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It
 is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of
 thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is
 lightning. It is this knife that causes the damage when
 lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are
 alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all
 inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent,
 active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus
 animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking
 797 place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited
 563 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil
 among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the
 Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was
 very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years.
 Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung
 sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior
 primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle
 school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the
 United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are
 two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West
 China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao
 have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and
 scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and
 one graduate of the West China Union University gave the
 money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to
 attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government
 of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational
 books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang
 Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five
 fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but
 they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager
 for modern education and higher culture. With the continued
 help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West
 China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese
 people, they can become an enlightened race that will be an
 asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to
 the British Empire.

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the areas occupied by the Tibetans whom we would have examined, it was considered impracticable to attempt to secure the data during the summer of 1936. However, an expedition was made into a less active bandit-centre, viz., the Ch'wan Miao, and these blood-grouping data form the basis of this report. Dr. Morse is therefore deeply indebted to Dr. Gates for influencing him to secure these interesting and important anthropological data of blood-grouping.

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Brief Historical and Geographical Notes.—Szechwan Province until recent years included the present province of Shikang and part of the province of Chin Hai; it is, however, still as large as Sweden and remains the largest, most populous, and most prolific in natural resources, of the provinces of China. Owing to the above factors, besides its isolation and relatively long periods of peace as compared with the rest of China, the province has been a magnet for ethnic groups for probably more than 4,000 years. It is an ancient centre of anthropological significance.³ Up to and after the time of Christ the province was occupied by Pre-Chinese. The present aboriginal population may approximate 2,000,000 tribe folk, who by the pressure of the Chinese have been relegated to the fastnesses of the highlands and mountains of the province. One group (Noso) remains in great part independent of Chinese control. The main groups of aborigines were mentioned above.

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There are several Miao tribes. The Ch'wan Miao probably number about 100,000, and their place of residence is in Southern Szechwan and Northern Kweichow. They are under the political control of the Chinese. All of the Miao tribes are presumably the modern remnants of the San Miao³ whose original habitat, roughly speaking, was in the Lower Yangtse River Basin, being approximately the territory surrounding the Tung Ting Lake. They have been in their present location 2,000 or more years. A part of the San Miao were expelled to N. W. Kansuh, according to Ancient Chinese records; this, if true, means a probable or possible ancient racial mixture with the Chiang, Noso, Liao and other tribes.³

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The Chinese population of Szechwan is not autochthonous, and is heterogeneous. Ancient

³ W. R. Morse: *Ancient Historical Ethnic Groups of Szechwan Province*, 'Journ. W. China Border Research Society,' VIII.

[P. 66a]

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175 Szechwan was occupied by the Pre-Chinese aborigines called the Shu and Pa.³ These were highly civilized by 1200 B.C. and had temples, schools, irrigation, etc. The Chinese entered the territory in small numbers about 200 B.C. From 250 A.D. they came in increasing numbers, but were not the main leading and controlling body until the sixteenth century. In 1449 a Chinese tyrant of exceeding cruelty massacred the majority of the population. The province, being such a rich prize, was soon re-populated by the Chinese from the other provinces.

125 *Method Employed in Blood-Grouping.*—Drops of blood were secured by pricking the lobe of the ear or the finger. This blood was placed in 5 c.c. of normal saline, and well shaken. A drop of standard serum from Group II and Group III was placed on separate marked cover slips. Using a small pipette, one drop of blood-suspension was added to each of the standard sera. The entire preparation was then well mixed and mounted on hollow ground slides and ringed with vaseline. After standing at room temperature for half an hour the preparation was examined by the low power objective, and the presence or absence of clumping was observed.

The sera employed were obtained from the Department of Pathology of West China Union University. All the sera were used up in the field during the examinations. The results are shown in the Table below:—

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	O	A	B	AB	Total
Chwan Miao	74	23	80	28	205
per cent.	36.1	11.2	39.0	13.7	
Szechwanese	487	375	289	141	1,292 ^a
per cent.	37.7	29.0	22.4	10.9	

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Sincere gratitude and deep appreciation is extended to Professor R. Ruggles Gates for the inspiration given us in anthropological study. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and help—re sera and apparatus—given us by Drs. Lenox, Williams and Cheo, of the Department of Pathology. Our thanks are due to Dr. Agnew for taking the photographs: his dietetic and dental studies are to be published shortly. The blood grouping was done chiefly by Mr. S. C. H. Yang, who was assisted in part by Dr. Beh. The anthropological measurements, which have now been analyzed statistically, were done by Drs. Morse and Beh, assisted by Mr. Liao as recorder.

^a Of these 1,292 Chinese, 1,000 were collected and/or observed by Dr. R. G. Lo and 292 by S. C. H. Yang.

[P. 666]

General Conditions of the Miao-I in Kweichow

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Introduction

114 The year before last I was commissioned by certain or-
ganizations to investigate the conditions of the Miao-I societies
121 in Kweichow. After having received the order, I left for the
Miao-I areas of the various hsien districts to start work on the
spot. Unfortunately, the references I had previously gathered
were of little use. After I had reached the Miao-I district, all
that I had seen and heard through personal contacts in the wild
mountains and lonely hamlets I recorded faithfully on the spot
in the midst of fatigue and traveling. In three years I covered
the whole province, and the amount of material I collected was
immense. Before it had been organized and put into shape,
inquiries came from many quarters concerned with the welfare
of the Miao-I people, but these could not be replied to one by
one. Furthermore, conditions in the Miao-I areas are quite dif-
ferent from those in the interior, and people who have never
been there are prone to picture the Miao-I as a mysterious people
and to distort the facts about them. The present article "Gen-
eral Conditions of the Miao-I Societies in Kweichow" serves as
an introduction to a knowledge of the Miao-I areas. It is hoped
that the readers will be pleased with this survey.

2. Racial Groups

175 1) Origin and History. Among the 450,000,000 Chinese
563 nationals, there are a large number of ethnic groups. Accord-
ing to ancient history, there were the Hua-hsia, the Tung-i, the
Ching, the Wu, the Pa-yueh, the Tung-hu, the Su-shen, the
Hsiung-nu, the T'u-chüeh [Turks], the Ch'iang, the Hsi-ts'ang
[Tibetans], the Miao, the Yao, and many others. After a
thousand years [2] of assimilation and amalgamation, those who

[2 cont.]

175 remain are the Chinese (Han), the Manchus, the Mongols, the
 563 Moslems, the Tibetans and the Miao-I. According to scholars
 who had made studies in the genealogies of both the ancient and
 modern races, they are all descendants of Emperors Yen [Shên
 Nung] and Huang [Huang Ti]; they belong to the same branch
 and share the same origin. Due to geographical barriers and
 environmental causes there came into being many kinds of ethnic
 groups with different habits and customs.

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 [563] We are here concerned with the origin and history of the
 Miao and the I, two of the oldest tribes in China. In early
 Chinese classics they were both referred to as the "Miao-Man"
 [Miao savages], but actually they were two distinct ethnic groups
 who should not be confused. The I were originally the aborigines
 inhabiting the border regions of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kwang-
 si in the southwest since very early times up to the present. As
 for the present-day Miao, they were often erroneously taken as
 the "San-Miao," which, however, was the name of a state and
 not the name of an ethnic group. The ancient ethnic name of
 the Miao was "Li," while the name of "Miao" as used today is a
 phonetic borrowing from the word "Man" first used in the Han
 Dynasty, and is not the "Miao" of the "San-Miao." During the
 time of the Five Emperors [Pre-historical period] this tribe lived
 in the lower middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and later due
 to an increase in their number and the comparative fertility of
 the Yellow River banks, they were led by their chieftain, Ch'ih
 yu, northward across the Yellow River, and came into immediate
 conflict with the Chinese there. They were expelled by Huang
 Ti [Yellow Emperor] after having suffered great setbacks, and
 later were again pacified during the Chou Dynasty. When Ch'u
 [a feudal state] became strong, the Miao tribe was also invaded
 and assimilated by the Chinese. At the time when Chin and
 Ch'u subjugated Pa and Shu in the south, the entire Yangtze
 valley was acculturated by the Chinese. The remnant Miao tribe
 then gradually went southward to Hunan, Kwang-tung, Kwangsi
 and Yunnan, and finally to Kweichow, where they mingled with
 [133] the native I tribe, lived in the high mountains and deep valleys,
 and became entirely segregated from the world outside.

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684 then the life of the lover will be threatened when the affair comes to the knowledge of her husband or fiancé. If both lovers are killed, society takes no notice of the case; but if only one party is killed, the other could still prosecute the matter.

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562 There are other restrictions between men and women. If
574 male guests arrive, only the host of the family sits at the table, and the mistress takes no part in the reception. Likewise, if female guests arrive, the hostess will act her part but the master of the house will ignore the visit, at most exchanging a few polite remarks. Male and female guests are rarely seen sharing the same table. On the other hand, when men and women are found wining and singing together the women would be considered as crazy and shameless, and public opinion would be to their detriment.

From this it may be seen that the relationship between men and women among the Sui-chia, although not reaching the extent of "not handing things to each other," is subject to the closest scrutiny from all sides.

(This article was originally published in the Fu-nü kung-tso [Woman's Work], Vol. I, No. 1, and Vol. II, No. 1, February and March, 1940.)

[113] The Story of the Miao Ancestors

Wu Che-lin

1. Introduction

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174 There are many different Miao-I tribes in Kweichow, but
563 in the opinion of modern anthropologists they fall into three large groups. According to their geographical distribution those in the east are mostly the Miao, those in the south and the south-west are mostly the Chung-chia, and those in the northwest along the Wei-ning area are mostly the Lolo. The Miao probably came from Hunan. (Originally they were distributed in Central

[113 cont.]

- 174 China, and later due to pressure from the Chinese they migrated
 ●563 to the south.) The Chung-chia probably came from Yunnan
 and Kwangsi and together with the Siamese [Thai] belong to the
 Pai-Shan linguistic group. The Lolo came from the borders of
 Szechwan and Yunnan, and their language is of the same branch
 as that of the Burmese. To confirm or to disprove this
 121 theory we have to be guided by two criteria in our study: first,
 the criterion of physical anthropology, and second, the criterion
 of cultural anthropology. Within the confines of physical
 anthropology, besides the measurement of head and nose indices
 and cheek-bone protrusion, the study of blood types has become
 a reliable standard of racial classification in modern anthropology.
 Within the confines of cultural anthropology the comparison of
 languages is an important method of study, while a comparative
 study of customs, folklore and myths is also exceedingly valuable.

The comparative study of myths and folklore is highly
 regarded by American anthropologists because the similarities
 in these tales can establish evidences of kinship and mutual
 influences between various ethnic groups. This method of study
 is generally known as the historical method of anthropology. It
 is not concerned with the historical value of mythology for the
 group, nor with its effect upon the tribal people, nor with its
 literary value. This [114] method is concerned only with an
 objective comparison of all the stories to determine the particular
 group to which the tribes belong and the route of their migration.

Mythology and folklore represent the background of a cer-
 tain period and reflect the degree of civilization of a tribal group
 at the time the myths originated. Franz Boas, the leading
 anthropologist today, has collected over a hundred mythological
 tales among the Tsimshian Indians and the following is his con-
 clusion:

"It is obvious that in the tales of a people
 those incidents of the everyday life that are
 of importance to them will appear either
 incidentally or as the basis of a plot. Most
 of the references to the mode of life of the
 people will be an accurate reflection of their

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from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people, With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,⁵⁴ considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".⁵⁵

In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hu-pei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

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174 it included Han-Chinese, Southern Man, Eastern Yi, and
563 the Wu and Yueh speaking peoples. Thus, although orig-
619 inally composed of Miao people, with its encompassment
M of this large segment of the Yang-tzu and adjacent drain-
174 ages, the large variety of peoples became intermixed and
563 fused to form a new group both in culture and in blood.
619 The original Miao (as well as T'ai) element became lost
in it.

On the other hand, the earlier Miao migrants south of the T'ung-t'ing region had long since consolidated their strength and resisted absorption by Ch'u. They were able to maintain their independence to the south of imperialist Ch'u. These Miao were the Wu Ling Man of the Five Streams region of northwestern Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou. They were powerful enough to give stiff combat to the Ch'u rulers. Thus, in the Records of the Southern Man of the Later Han History it is stated that: at the time of King Wu of Ch'u, the Man, together with the Lo-tzu (a small state centered at present Ich'eng District in Hupei) defeated the Ch'u army and killed its General Ch'ü Hsia. Ch'u, which had come to amalgamate so many cultural elements and which had become highly Sinicized, was unable to absorb this independent group of Miao that had migrated southward and was destined to preserve a Miao entity to modern times.⁵⁶

While it is not to be doubted that the Ch'u drew many Han-Chinese into their court circles and official bureaucracy as their Sinicization progressed, it is not necessary to follow Hirth¹ in considering that the tribes peoples of Ch'u were ruled by an upper crust of Han-Chinese who became gradually "infected with barbarian qualities." This sort of a development is not impossible, of course, for it occurred in the case of the southern kingdom of Nan Yueh. But the preceding exposition of the Sinicization of the proud Miao rulers of Ch'u gives an equally convincing explanation of the "cultural problems encountered by the student of Chinese history a few centuries later in the shape of important changes that must have taken place in the popular views of the masses, in folklore, superstitions and art."⁵⁷ Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, no doubt was a Sinicized tribesman of Ch'u, probably of Miao or T'ai stock. His fondness for the mountain wilds of South China and the lonely communion with nature points to such an affinity. However, this writer certainly goes along with Hirth in quoting Chavannes that:

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Ts'in and Ch'u were not, in the proper sense of the word, to be comprised among the kingdoms of the middle [China Proper]. Their populations, though civilized by the Chinese, were of different races. From the time when Tsin and Ts'i fell victims to internal dissensions, Ts'in and Ch'u became the leading actors in that drama destined to end with the triumph of Ts'in and the establishment of the empire by Ts'in Shi-huang-ti in 221 B.C. We may thus say that the revolution which finally led to the establishment of imperial China can be traced to the year 403 B.C., and that this is the reason why Ssu-ma Kuang makes this year the starting point of his great history entitled: Tzi-chi-t'ung-kien.

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By the Ch'in and Han periods the Sinicized Ch'u inhabitants had joined the ranks of the Han-Chinese in exerting pressure against their former relatives, the Man or Miao peoples on their southern fringe as well as against other ethnic groups not conforming to Han culture. The Southern Man Records of the Later Han History says that when Tao Wang, King of Ch'u, appointed Wu Ch'i his prime minister, he sent him south to seize the Man-Yueh state and thereby added T'ung-t'ing and Ts'ang-wu to his possessions. Moreover, when Chao Wang of the Ch'in invaded the Ch'u Kingdom, he garnered the Man-Yi tribal territories and first established Ch'ien-chung Department (with the seat of administration at the site of present-day Yuan-ling in Hu-nan). The Han Dynasty changed this to Wu Ling Department. Its territory included the Hu-nan prefectures of Ch'ang-te, Ch'en-chou, Yuan-chou, and Pao-ching, and the Kuei-chou prefectures of Ssu-chou, Shih-chien, T'ung-jen, Li-p'ing and Ssu-nan. Thus, by the Han period, the Wu Ling Man tribes were occupying not only the hilly region between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang lakes, but also the eastern part of Kuei-chou.⁵⁸

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The Hua-yang Kuo-chih states that the Ch'ien-chung Man were the Wu-ch'i Man whose people were scattered over the region of the Wu Ch'i or Five Streams. These streams are the Ch'en, Yu, Wu, another Wu, and Yuan. Apparently the Miao who come into the historical picture of the two Han periods had migrated to Hu-pei and then Hu-nan, centering at Yuan-ling District. Following up the Yuan River southwestward they settled in the drain-

Miao AES

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Dynasty and the beginning of the Sui (A.D. 220-581), not only did North China experience the aggression of the Wu-Hu (Five Tatar tribes), but it also faced the northward menace of the Miao-Man. The division of China between northern and southern dynasties created a kind of a no-man's-land between the two areas where political control was loose and chaotic. Moreover, during the relatively peaceful four centuries that the Han Dynasty held sway, the mixed peoples of the former Ch'u Kingdom had become completely assimilated to Han-Chinese civilization and now presented a bloc that prevented the further western (Ssu-ch'uan) Miao movement into the territories of Hu-nan and Kuei-chou via the accustomed route. The Tibetan Ch'iang and the Tatar pressures from the west at the same time kept the Miao on the move in Ssu-ch'uan. The result was that the former eastward movement was diverted into the eastern reaches of the Ta-pa and Ch'in-ling mountains and thus brought the Miao into the political vacuum of the no-man's-land. These northward invading Miao, then, did not come from the Hu-nan region, but from the upper tributaries of the Yang-tzu, i.e., from western Ssu-ch'uan.⁶⁰

These Miao migrants spread into northeastern Hu-pei, where they were called the Yü-chou Man. From there they overflowed into the valleys of the Yang-tzu, Huai, Ju and Han Rivers. The areas occupied by them include northern An-hui, the Shen-hsi borders, and the heart of Ho-nan. Some tribes even penetrated as far north as Sui-yuan Province. Between A.D. 403 and 561 there were more than 40 instances of Miao uprisings between the Yang-tzu and Yellow Rivers. In one outstanding respect, Chiang Ying-liang said, these Miao-Man uprisings differed from those of other frontier tribesmen seeking plunder in a robber-fashion. These were really struggles arising from attempts to seize political control from the existing body of land-holding people. Moreover, both northern and southern dynasties competed to gain the adherence of the Miao gentry, and there were many Miao leaders in high positions in the various courts of the competing dynasties. These appointments were given them because they voluntarily submitted their allegiance, or as a reward for military aid against the opposing dynasty, or because the court on one side or the other wished to gain the support of strong Miao leaders who had succeeded in seizing territory and establishing their domination.⁶¹

During this period of confusion in the melting pot of

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China Proper, the fusing process of some 300 years welded the different peoples into a single body in which Han-culture submerged not only the Northern Tatar nomads, but also the numerically smaller Miao tribes. Therefore, we find that what was called the Southern Man during the T'ang, Sung, and Yuan Dynasties was limited to those in China south of the Yang-tzu. The restoration of Han-Chinese rule over the Chinese empire in A.D. 618 prevented the further eastward migration of Miao remnants from the old Miao homeland in the east Hsi-k'ang and west Ssu-ch'uan mountain lands. The remnant tribes either were assimilated into Han culture or became exterminated by Ch'iang or Han-Chinese rulers. A few may have migrated southwestwards and southeastwards from Hsi-k'ang.

After the Han period the area of western Hu-nan and northeastern Kuei-chou became the stronghold of the Miao. This area accordingly became the scene for conquest and development by the first T'ang rulers. The meaning of the phrase "chih-chou" (organizing administrative districts) as applied to the Miao may be looked at from two viewpoints, said Chiang. If characterized sympathetically, it was the development of the Man territory and the cultural assimilation into a higher civilization of the Man peoples. If characterized unsympathetically, the process meant the ruthless subjugation and the oppression of the Man-Miao and the aggressive occupation of their lands.⁶²

In the turmoil following the T'ang and known as the Five Dynasties period (A.D. 907-960), Ma Yin, an adventurer, occupied Ch'ang-sha and proclaimed himself king of a new state of Ch'u (one of ten states of this period). Of course, the Miao had taken the opportunity of reasserting their own independence, and Ma found it necessary to subjugate the Man-Yi and with this was able to incorporate Chiang Chou as well as Ch'i and Chin Departments into his domain. Chiang Chou was in present Kuei-chou territory. By this period, therefore, Han-Chinese political organization had penetrated deep into the upper drainage of the Five Streams.

The Sung Dynasty took the most vigorous and positive steps in opening up the Southern Man territory (in more than one way the advance of the Han-Chinese into tribal territories reminds one of the American "opening up" of the Indian Territory). These steps had two results. They caused the assimilation of those that were willing to submit or the flight and migration into the adjoining territories of central and eastern Kuei-chou and the areas of

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Ling-nan in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi. By T'ang times, the Miao had reached as far south as Ts'un-yi in Kuei-chou, but it is not clear whether they were spread all over Kuei-chou during T'ang and Sung times. It seems unlikely that they had, because the Lolo tribesmen were in occupation of large parts of southern and western Kuei-chou.

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The history of the Lolo in the Ch'ien Shu or History of Kuei-chou states that the An Clan of Lolo in the Ta-ting area was in occupation there as early as the Three Kingdoms period (3rd and 4th centuries). The chief of the clan was "enfeoffed" as King of Lo-tien State. (Actually, enfeoffment merely meant the confirmation of the de facto position the tribal chieftain already held). This was conferred by Chu-ko Liang of the Ssu-ch'uan Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-265). The An Clan chief's hereditary succession was confirmed by the T'ang and Sung Dynasties as a matter of expediency. This was not changed by succeeding Han-Chinese dynasties. Kublai Khan gave the An Clan chief the title An-fu-ssu, later changed to the higher Hsuan-wei-ssu plus the added designation Marquis of Lo-tien. The Ming Emperor made him Hsuan-wei-ssu of Kuei-chou. From all this, it would appear that the incoming Miao migrants did not reach this far west. The Miao probably traveled up the three rivers Yuan, Ch'en and Yu from Hu-nan, making the upper reaches their base area. In northern Kuei-chou the Miao eventually reached the Districts of Ts'un-yi and Tzu-t'ung. In southern Kuei-chou they reached An-shun and Tz'u-yün Districts.⁶³

There are not many Miao people in Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi, and their history here is comparatively short. They probably came first to northern Kuang-hsi during the Yuan Dynasty, said Hsu Sung-shih.⁶⁴ Because of the frequent military operations of the Yuan and Ming against them, the Miao of Kuei-chou began to migrate out of the Kuei-chou province.⁶⁵ When Kublai Khan conquered the Kuei-chou territory, it was organized as Shun-yuan Lu (Shun-yuan Province). The Yuan Shu (History of the Yuan) tells of the suppression of the T'ung-Miao-Man. There is a so-called "Long-Bridge tomb plaque of the 300 Chung (Red Yao tribe) nobles" in Lung-sheng District of northern Kuang-hsi. This states that the ancestors of these nobles were Ching-chou (southwest Hu-nan) Miao, and that they had come into Kuang-hsi only since the Yuan Dynasty. However, the Miao have come across the southern ranges into Ling-nan in large numbers only since the Ming Dynasty.

In 1381 the first Ming Emperor appointed Marquis Yi

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5 Ch'uan otherwise known as General Fu Yu-te, as the
175 "South-Pacifying General.". He was instructed to lead
563 an army to conquer Yun-nan which had reverted to the
642 independent rule of local chieftains after the collapse of
M the Mongol Dynasty. General Fu Yu-te commanded an
175 army of 100,000 which assembled in Hu-kuang Province
563 (Hu-pei and Hu-nan area). Aside from a part of his army
648 which he dispatched post-haste to Wu-san (present-day
Wei-ning in western Kuei-chou)(See Photos 7 and 8), he
personally led the main body. He entered Kuei-chou from
Hu-nan along the Yuan River route. It is readily under-
standable that with Fu Yu-te's large army burdening the
area, many Miao would feel compelled to migrate south-
ward. And when the north Kuang-hsi Miao of today are
asked at what period they migrated there, they invariably
reply with the two characters Hung-wu for the first Ming
Emperor's name, showing that they migrated there at the
end of the 14th Century.

A few Miao are found scattered among the Li tribes
of Hai-nan Island. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1522-
1567), there was a major suppression campaign against
the Li tribes of Hai-nan. At this time, Kuang-hsi Miao

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Photo 7. Wei-ning district, Kuei-chou Province (26° 52'
N, 104° 17' E)

North of the town of Wei-ning and the Ts'ao Hu shown
in Photo 6, the characteristic plateau forms of northwest
Kuei-chou reveal a topography that in the large appears
relatively even except where mountain systems such as
the Miao Ling at the upper left of photo span the surface.
The rugged parts of the non-mountainous terrain are found
where great canyons and deep, narrow valleys such as the
one in the foreground have been eroded far below the sur-
face of the plateau. The middle terrain is pock-marked
with an almost straight line of sink-holes testifying to
easily soluble underlying limestone rock that often is
found in Kuei-chou. Lolo and Miao slope-farmers culti-
vate the hilly land in the foreground, and terrace ridges
run down the inter-locking ridges of the great canyon.
Many terraces appear to be abandoned. The slope soils
are poor, acidic yellow earths from which fertility goes
quickly with crop cultivation.

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642 troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of
M poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese
175 army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao
563 decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their de-
648 scendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-
M nan.⁶⁶

175 During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol
177 Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive
721 outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have
S steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their terri-
177 tories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand,
175 and suppression and extermination on the other. There was
669 hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when
suppression or pacification campaigns were not being un-
dertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major sup-
pression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794,
and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating
the migratory movements of the modern period. (The
Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and
will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover,
these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor
than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and
the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated
deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and mas-
sacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After
seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-
Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields.
The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer
found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and
had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill
lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the push-
ing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land
considered of little value by Han-Chinese.⁶⁸ (The paral-
lel situation with respect to the American treatment of
the Indians is noteworthy.)

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175 The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was
721 associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when
S both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning
175 T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent
669 with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central
administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not
coordinated events and were put down by Governor-Gen-
eral Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The
uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao
plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

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circled and besieged Ts'un-yi. In spite of the efforts of 20,000 Imperial troops under the command of the Kuei-chou Commandant, little progress against the Miao was made until Lo Jao-tien took personal command, driving them back to their strongholds in the Lei-t'ai Mountains. The British officer Wingate, traveling from Hu-nan to Burma in the 1890's, describes the devastation suffered by the Han-Chinese towns from which they had not yet recovered even at that late period. He said: "At a place called Ching-chi on the Wu Ho [in Kuei-chou] is a town wall of some miles in circumference which once enclosed a prosperous town of several thousand families, but which now only contains a few officials' houses and a temple or two. It is one among many others which have suffered during the wars which the Chinese have had with the Miao or aborigines living in the hills south of the river."⁷⁰

As pointed out in a preceding page, the suppressions of the last two centuries started a new period of migration for the modern Miao. The various tribes or clan groups feeling the pressure of encroaching Chinese agriculturalists in Kuei-chou, sought the higher secluded mountain fastnesses of surrounding provinces. The Black Miao gradually drifted to Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi. The Red Miao in the vicinity of T'ung-jen Hsien in eastern Kuei-chou migrated eastward to the three western Districts of Hu-nan. Some of the White Miao entered Ssu-ch'uan to their northwest. Tribes of the Hua Miao or Flowery Miao traveled westward through An-shun to the eastern part of Yun-nan, northward to Wu-ting District, and farther on to the north and south banks of the Chin-sha Chiang. Some of them also traveled southeastward through Yun-nan to the northern parts of Annam and Tongking. The Blue Miao scattered in many directions and are found now mostly in Hu-nan, Kuang-hsi, and Yun-nan. Many of these southwest provinces have representatives of different tribes of Miao. As far southwest as Ssu-mao in Yun-nan small groups of White, Blue, and Flowery Miao have penetrated. When the different groups of Miao live together in one locality, they soon tend to become much alike in cultural practices and dress, so that it is hard to distinguish members of one group from those of another.⁷¹

The above delineation of Miao history and migration brings us back to the consideration of the groups related to the Miao discussed in Chapter II, in particular the Fan, who developed in the southwestern periphery of China Prop-

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er. Among other evidences of a close relationship between the modern Miao and the ancient Fan is the fact that seven ancient family or clan names among the Fan also occur among the modern Miao.⁷² The Fan have formed a kind of buffer between the Tibetan Ch'iang and the Han-Chinese and often bore the brunt of eastward expansionist pressure of the Ch'iang tribes. The culture of the Fan has drawn close to that of the Ch'iang.⁷³ The debate among Chinese researchers as to whether these Ch'iang are the same as the Ch'iang of the oracle bones has never been decided, although everything seems to point to this conclusion.⁷⁴ This group of Tibetan Ch'iang people during the Han period when they first became more exactly known, inhabited the northern part of Tibet, the Kokonor or Lake Ch'ing-hai region. Parts of Kan-su, great parts of Shensi, and the border regions of Ssu-ch'uan and even parts of Hu-pei and Shan-hsi were occupied by them.⁷⁵

The 32 tribes and folk of the Fan Group as mentioned in Chinese history on the whole occupied the region of present day Kuei-chou and the northwest part of Kuang-hsi. References to them are limited almost entirely to the Sung Dynasty period. We must assume, said Eberhard, that prior to the Sung the habitat of these tribes had not yet been penetrated by the Han-Chinese. More important and difficult is the question as to why the references cease after the Sung period. From then on the expression Fan only applies to tribes in the Tibetan Plateau and no more to this group in Kuei-chou and Kuang-hsi. From this period on and especially during the Ming Dynasty the name Miao becomes prominent (it may be well to recall here the hypothesis about Mao and Miao). Since references to migrations are lacking, said Eberhard, we must assume a tie-up between Fan and Miao. Unfortunately, all the references to the Kuei-chou Fan are very short and poor. The Chinese sources know little of these tribes and most often give no more than the name attaching them to a description of the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang. (We shall come to further references to Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang in our discussion of the early history of Ling-nan later in this chapter.) Eberhard with some uncertainty included the Ts'ang-ko and Yeh-lang peoples with the Wu Man Group. Various indications link the Fan with the Lolo and in a large sense to the Tibetan peoples. Nevertheless, the Fan have characteristics of the South Chinese cultures and appear to be the direct forefathers of the present-day

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Miao tribes.⁷⁶

The Miao themselves, interpreted from their culture, represent an intermixture of a large number of differing cultural elements, including Chuang or T'ai, Yao, and Tibetan.⁷⁷

The historical sources have indicated that the Man or Miao peoples migrated eastward from western Ssu-ch'uan or the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. This places their origin in the region occupied by the Fan in modern times. In fact, whether conscious of the distinction between Miao and Fan or not, both Boulger and Grantham called the west Ssu-ch'uan Fan by the term Miao when they discussed the great Fan uprisings of 1746 and 1772-76 on the Big and Little Gold River tributaries of the Ta-tu Ho in the plateau land northwest of Ch'eng-tu.⁷⁸

In a sense more fortunate than the Kuei-chou Miao, the West Ssu-ch'uan Fan occupy lands even less attractive to the agricultural Han-Chinese than the high mountain slopes of Kuei-chou. Without the inducement of low-lying valley lands for the Han-Chinese farmers such as exist in Kuei-chou, the lands of the Fan are occupied by Han-Chinese only in the chief towns and there only by merchants and official elements. The problem of Fan displacement by Han-Chinese agriculturalists has not arisen to the same extent therefore. Here, then, tribal autonomy has been enabled to continue for a longer time and more thoroughly than in Kuei-chou.

8. The History and Migrations of the Lolo

In our preceding discussion of the early spread of the Miao into Kuei-chou, it was noted that this spread was probably checked in southern and western Kuei-chou by the Lolo who were recorded as masters and occupants of the area in the 3rd Century A.D. Wissman said that the entire highland triangle of Central and northeast Yun-nan was occupied by the Lolo prior to the coming of the Han-Chinese.⁷⁹ Their stronghold comprises the Ta-liang Shan, a mass of high mountains at the meeting point of Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan and Hsi-k'ang.⁸⁰ They are the group referred to in Chinese texts under the more inclusive ethnic name of Wu Man or Black Man, from the dark brown skin pigment of this race of people. Eickstedt and Eberhard classed them as Austro-Asiatic in racial stock, otherwise known as a branch of the Tibeto-Burman peoples.

115: Le Boulanger--218 H-4 (no date) 1931 AM1 Indochina
 (20th Cent.) Laotians AM8
 Miao AE5

urgings, no less than three successive expeditions (the Sourisseau, 624
 Friquignon and Dussault columns) and two years of difficult and 669
 costly operations were necessary to restore order and suppress the
 Yunnanese bands. The deposition of the Chao-Fa -- applicable both
 to himself and his heirs -- was decreed in April 1916, and the
 former principality was converted into a simple "muong." Phra-
 Ong-Kham died in China in 1923, and when his family offered to
 make its submission it was given permission to return to Muong-Sing.

2. The Meo rebellion (1919-1921). While these events were M
 transpiring the Meos, who lived mainly high up on the peaks of 563
 Luang-Prabang and Tran-Ninh (1), had maintained a proper atti- 669

1. See above, p. 212.

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tude even though approached by the Chao-Fa and the /358/ Chinese
 brigands. Nor had they seemed at first to pay any more attention
 to the movement which their fellows in Tonkin had just initiated in
 the basin of the upper Black River.

Continuing to live apart from other races in jealous isolation,
 they had nevertheless seemed for some time past to be moving to-
 wards closer terms with the provincial administration, which had
 succeeded in interesting them in road projects. But in July 1919
 one of the leaders of the Tonkin rebellion who was being pursued
 by our troops and was called Batchay came to seek refuge among
 them. From this lair he sent out emissaries whose mission it was
 to devote themselves to secret propaganda efforts among the Meo
 groupings of Upper Laos in favor of a king who, "accomplishing the
 will of Heaven, was to bring them happiness, peace and prosperity."
 The rumor rapidly circulated among these credulous tribes that a
 prophecy which had fallen from the sky was summoning all Meos
 to revolt and form a great independent kingdom with its capital
 at Dien-Bien-Phu or Muong-Heup. To the accompaniment of
 incantations and magic formulas, the able-bodied population was
 called to march against the Laotians, Khas and Annamites and to
 build the palace of the awaited sovereign.

/359/ In vain did the king of Luang-Prabang send messages to L
 the Meo leaders in protest against these absurd rumors. Within a M
 few weeks armed bands were formed which began to ransom and 563
 pillage the villages of Tran-Ninh, Luang-Prabang and the Houa- 669
 Phan. Our militia had to occupy the outpost of Muong-Heup, which

L was attacked on August 15. It repulsed the assailants, two of which
M were killed and some ten wounded. The Muong-Ngoi outpost was
563 then reinforced by riflemen under the command of Lieutenant
669 Distanti, and detachments led by Laotian leaders scoured the coun-
try. On September 23, however, Lieutenant Distanti fell into an
ambush and suffered a mortal wound, and in October we committed
the error of evacuating Muong-Heup, an action which heightened
Batchay's prestige still further and provoked a veritable panic among
the terrorized populace.

The matter was becoming serious, and reinforcements had to be
sent from Hanoi and Saigon. A military column was organized and
placed under the direction of Colonel Angeli, who was able to free
the plateau of Xieng-Khouang and part of the Houa-Phan only after
fierce battles at Ban-Ban, Bergerie, Ban-Phadeng and Pakkha /360/
(January-May 1920). At the same time attempts had been made to
enter into negotiations with the principal rebel leaders so as to open
their eyes to the dangers and ordeals into which they were drawing
their families. A few submissions were obtained in this manner, but
when the rainy season halted all operations Batchay profited from the
respite in order to regroup his partisans east of Nam-On.

In December Commander Dorey resumed the offensive, and
despite the many obstacles in a "land bristling with mountains, sown
with ambushes and devoid of all resources" succeeded in driving the
Meos "from one entrenched position to the next," harrying them
without respite, encircling them and decimating them with such
rapidity that a month later all their bands were either destroyed or
had surrendered, that Batchay was in flight and abandoned by the
last survivors, and that the column could be disbanded in March
1921 (1).

1. Batchay's refuge was not discovered until October 1922.
Surprised by Khas in the vicinity of Muong-Heup, he was
killed by the latter on November 17.

Thus ended, almost as suddenly as it had broken out, this surpris-
ing insurrection which was uniquely due to the fanaticism of skittish
and excessively superstitious tribes which were /361/ blindly obedient
(like the southern Khas towards the Phou-Mi-Boun) to leaders who
imposed on them by practices drawn from the lowest kind of sorcery:
It is indeed a proven fact that the Meos had not been exposed to the

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not L
 at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. M
 Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups 563
 in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive 669
 measures.

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the L
 cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special M
 administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal 563
 autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite inter- 636
 mediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the popu- 609
 lations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial
 antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintain-
 ing a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and
 devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms 178
 which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In 563
 the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes
 of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their
 customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last repre-
 sentatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of com-
 munication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese
 family.

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 000
 369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page
 376 is blank. --Translator/

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women." ---translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods, which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

[624] The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
[361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truông or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

631 on which the territory occupied by the tribe is dependant. It might
 609 even happen that a simple Meo hamlet was overwhelmed in the midst
 563 of a population of the Tho, Nung, or Man race. The inhabitants then
 naturally become pariahs, who suffer from the oppression because of
 the mass which surrounds them, and are very much more miserable
 than in the midst of a tribe of their race.

631 /138/ To the south of the Red River, at Tu Le for example, the
 615 terms used to designate Meo chiefs are slightly different: the ma phai is
 replaced by the seo phai who sometimes has an assistant, seo phao. The tung
 cha becomes sung quan, but his assis ant is called sa thao, as above.
 Finally, in the rather large settlement of Phu Yen on the Black River,
 the chief of the great tribe bears the title hong ly.

Several of these titles refer to military functions, which tends
 to prove that in certain of their migrations the Meo must have organized
 themselves along military lines by force of arms. Ma phai means "he
 who keeps account of the horses"; ping tau, "troop commander"; and
 tung cha, "at the side of the chief of the canton."

Section 6

Economic State--Agriculture, Industry, Commerce

241 Thanks to his energy and diligence in working, the Meo
 311 succeeds in improving and in drawing the maximum returns from a
 region where there are more rocks than arable land. It is indeed a
 curious sight to see him lead his ox and plough across a veritable chaos
 of black rocks which sometimes leave only a meagre square meter of
 land between them. At each step the plough turns up a bit of rock,
 which the tireless ploughman goes without delay and carries to the
 nearest heap of stones.

241 The principal crop is maize with which the Meo covers every
 bit of tillable land, the flanks of mountains and the bottoms of cirques
 or, at least, the thousand little pockets of humus which lie in the
 spaces between the rocks. Seeds sown in April can be harvested in
 August. The Meo does not fertilize the soil all over. He is satisfied
 to spread a handful of manure at the precise spot where he plants his
 three grains of maize. Between the period of sowing and of harvest,
 the ground is cultivated three or four times, at first with a spade when
 the plant is scarcely out of the ground, then with the plough when it
 is larger. At harvest time maize is carried in /139/ pack-baskets
 and arranged in piles in the granaries, or hung in bunches of seven or

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to selling one's own wife. Some persons perhaps consider the intermediary activities of the Chinese traders as wife purchase (see the chapter, "Trade"). I do not think that this is correct, for, although young and pretty Meau women are sold outright by such traders, they are almost always temporarily accepted by the sib as unfree persons who are soon to marry a young man of the sib. Moreover, most of these cases concern women who have been unhappily married. I shall discuss this in detail in the section on "Dissolution of Marriage" in this chapter.

Contrary to the statements in the Siam Soc. Report (1).

1. I, p. 167.

I did not find any such activities by the Chinese traders among the Akha.

f) Marriage Obstacles and Regulations

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Theoretically there is no tribal endogamy among the Meau in Thailand, so that here the Meau may marry their neighbors, the Tin, Kamuk, and, indeed, even Lao. Only with respect to the Yau does a strict marriage prohibition exist. Since, however, I could not find a single instance of a Meau who had married someone outside his tribe, it can probably be said that in practice even a strict tribal endogamy prevails. On the other hand, marriages between the various Meau tribes, that is, between the White and Black Meau, and so forth (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"), are common. Even Lajonquière (2), whose statements are borrowed almost

2. II, p. 193.

verbatim by Abadie (3), reports that in Indochina marriages be-

3. Page 165.

tween /110/ the various Meau tribes are customary, but those between Meau and other ethnic groups are rarer.